

Reagan's Butchers Shaking Salvador Leftists: On to Victory!

MAY 17—A leftist guerrilla in central El Salvador recently declared, "We are moving the war along as fast as possible now, so the people don't have to suffer so much. We are coming to the final stage. We now have the capacity to launch a definite insurrection" (*Washington Post*, 1 May). In recent weeks the insurgent forces of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) have kept the U.S.-backed army reeling. The much-touted "new" military strategy (nothing but Vietnam-era counterinsurgency) has gotten nowhere as each army sweep is met by fierce resistance and devastating counterattacks by the rebels. The FMLN forces have maintained and accelerated the military momentum which they seized last October, striking targets at will across the country. Six months ago, the opposition Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) declared that the rebels were entering "a more offensive and defining phase of the revolutionary war" with the "creation of conditions for the general insurrection of the masses" (FDR/FMLN, *Boletín El Salvador Libre*, October 1982). This has certainly been accomplished. What now?

In the United States, all sectors of the ruling class are worried about the "fire in America's front yard," vividly recalling the Vietnam debacle. Reagan wants to escalate, the liberals want to negotiate. Now various reformists are joining with the Democrats to call an "emergency" demonstration (on July 2!) for "No Vietnam War in Central America." The Spartacist League (SL) says: Vietnam was a victory—Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism! And the bourgeoisie has good reason to be worried. With Central America already aflame, there is now rumbling in the Southern Cone of South America. One thousand arrested for demonstrating against the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile, general strikes against the generals in Argentina, workers confront the IMF austerity policies of the popular front in Bolivia. And to the north Mexico is in deep crisis. Now is the time to strike for victory on the battlefield in El Salvador. A leftist military victory could open the door to workers revolution that could spread throughout the continent.

Yet as we have noted before, the more



Meiselas/Magnum

No Negotiated Sellout!

successful the guerrillas are against the army, the more insistent their leaders are in offering to sell out what has been won on the battlefield in exchange for some cabinet seats and promises of reform (the so-called "political solution"). This pattern has again been dramatically confirmed. A week after Reagan's war on Communism in Central America speech to Congress, FDR leader Guillermo Ungo came to Washington to hold a press conference in which he announced: "The United States has the right to stop the spread of communism. That's true. We agree on that" (*Baltimore Sun*, 3 May). Indeed,

while the workers and peasants defy blood and fire in a struggle to rid themselves of a rapacious oligarchy and its kill-crazed death squads, Ungo and the rest of the phantom bourgeois politicians in the FDR ply the cocktail circuits hoping to rally liberal support and thus stave off social revolution. The SL says: No negotiated sellout! Military victory to leftist insurgents! Take San Salvador!

Reagan's Butchers On the Run

After the "Heroic January 1983" FMLN offensive, which resulted in the rebel occupation of the town of Berlin and attacks inside the capital itself, the guerrillas have kept up the pressure, preventing the army from taking back the initiative or even regaining equilibrium. The rebels responded to Reagan's threats by occupying the key border town of Santa Rosa de Lima in eastern La Unión province on April 29. They also destroyed five bridges along the Pan American highway, including

cutting the link to Honduras and southern Central America at the border. And while the sizable FMLN "areas of control" are expanding, the government army is crumbling as a result of mass surrenders to the guerrillas:

- March 27—Capture of 114 soldiers in a rebel attack on San Esteban Catarina, 29 miles from the capital.

- April 17—Capture of 71 soldiers and their commander, overrunning an army post near Chichontepec volcano (La Paz province).

- April 18—Capture of 80 government soldiers on the San Vicente volcano.

In addition, in what was described as one of the biggest FMLN victories of the war, on March 31 guerrillas ambushed and destroyed two companies of the crack U.S.-trained Ramón Bellosó battalion in the northeastern Morazán province. And in mid-April the government made its 14th attempt to dislodge rebels from Guazapa volcano just

continued on page 4

UAW: From Sitdowns to
the Chrysler Board Room

Doug Fraser:
Company Cop...3

La Migra's Racist Roundups in Chicago

Stop the Deportations!



Immigration cops raid factories in Chicago, April 1982.

Carter/Chicago Tribune

CHICAGO—With the push on to pass the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration "reform" bill, they're trying to whip up a chauvinist frenzy against foreign workers. During the month of March alone, some 1,000 "illegal aliens" were rounded up here by the racist squads of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), known by its victims as *la migra*. The crackdown is part of a nationwide pattern—the Border Patrol announced it picked up an unprecedented 107,997 people along the Mexican border in March, more than any month in history and an increase of 43 percent over last year (*Chicago Tribune*, 24 April).

And while *la migra* spread its dragnet, the *Tribune* spewed out a racist propaganda barrage in a six-part series entitled "The Illegals." The press accounts did bring to light the desperate conditions faced by Chicago's countless thousands of undocumented workers: from their perilous entry into this country, creeping through holes in the chain link fences of the "Tortilla Curtain," hiding in the brush from the Border Patrol who stalk their quarry with an arsenal ranging from helicopters to infrared nightscopes. At the mercy of the "coyotes" (smugglers), they pay hundreds of dollars to be packed into vans and car trunks, arriving in Chicago to wash dishes, sew garments or work in grimy metal shops.

The latest sweep was called "Operation Repeater," a follow-up on last year's "Operation Jobs," Reagan's vicious attempt to make foreign workers scapegoats for skyrocketing U.S. unemployment. In last year's ten-city sweep, Chicago was a particular focus of the INS: 1,295 out of a total of 5,000 arrests nationwide took place here. We reported how INS local chief H.A. Palmer raided factories and warehouses, swept through the *barrios* separating families and slamming terrified people into holding pens at O'Hare Airport. The

and addresses on file, and could be deported at any moment.

The Reagan-backed Simpson-Mazzoli bill now pending in Congress, if fully enforced, would lead to a South African-style internal passport system, strengthening the police powers of the INS and expanding the Labor Department's role as a labor contractor. Under the vaguely worded "amnesty provisions" of the Senate bill, applicants must show they entered the country before 1977 and that they won't become "public charges"—impossible to prove in depression-ravaged USA. Job-trusting union misleaders, who were

for the garment sweatshops of the Northeast and the foundries in Chicago. Now with the financial and economic crisis in Mexico, in addition to the normal attraction of making a better life for themselves, hundreds of thousands more are being driven across the border looking for any kind of work.

Moreover, many Mexicans and Central Americans meet death in their attempt to make it to the "land of the free." There are accounts of "wetbacks" murdered by Ku Klux Klan mobs waiting for them to cross the Rio Grande, of bodies of teenage boys found floating in the river in Juárez, shot by border policemen. From the KKK "border patrols" to their failed march against "illegal aliens" in Washington last November 27 (which was stopped by the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League), this is the fascistic fringe of the anti-Soviet war drive supported by both capitalist parties. Democrats and Republicans also join hands in pushing the racist Simpson-Mazzoli bill, along with sellout labor bureaucrats whose answer to unemployment is the chauvinist poison of protectionism and anti-immigration legislation.

In Chicago, leaders of the Mexican community have traditionally tied the working people to the ethnic patronage system of the Democratic Machine. In the recent mayoral elections, marked by a racist hysteria-campaign, the Mexican district of Pilsen went heavily for Mayor Jane Byrne in the primary, then, faced with the choice of black Democrat Washington or racist Republican Epton, many opted for Washington. Since the Hispanic vote became a decisive factor, the Latino wheeler-dealers are now declaring that Washington's victory "marks the beginning of a new era for Hispanics," as Chicano reformist leader Rudy Lozano said (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 15 April). But a token deputy mayor and a "commission on Hispanic affairs" will not do much for Latin Americans in this city—all they will get from Washington & Co. is a big dose of the austerity that he's already begun to announce.

Last year's May Day march in Pilsen came at the height of *la migra*'s "Operation Jobs" dragnet. Yet while Casa Aztlán, a group of nationalists and fellow-travelers around the reformist Communist Party (CP), were chanting "*Raza si, Migra no*," they refused to call for full citizenship rights for our foreign class brothers! After all, what would all

the "community" petty merchants—who fatten themselves off the blood and sweat of poor immigrants—do without "illegal aliens"? (CP fellow traveler Ray Romero remarked: "Employers look at things in terms of profits, what happens when you eliminate the undocumented workers and reduce the margin?") At the 1982 May Day march, the Spartacist League (SL) contingent had the only signs demanding "Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Born Workers and Their Families! Stop the Deportations!" "Asylum for Refugees of Salvadoran Junta Terror!" and "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador!" For this we were jumped by a gnon squad of these nationalists and Stalinists seeking to keep out opposition to their popular front with the Democrats.

These popular frontists, whose call for a "negotiated solution" in Central America would lead to new massacres of Salvadoran leftists, and who in Mexico have for decades sought to tame all opposition to the ruling PRI, now seek to tie Hispanics in Chicago to the Democrats' "reform" mayor. Yet this same Democratic Party and the same liberals are some of the biggest pushers of anti-immigrant legislation. The Stalinists along with the class-collaborationist labor tops call for protectionist legislation against runaway shops (run away to Juárez, for example) and support protectionist demonstrations against buying foreign-made steel (such as from Monterrey). In contrast to this reformist racist poison, the Spartacist League calls for international class struggle. The SL points out that everyone in this country came from somewhere else (except the Indians and look how they were slaughtered). We say that anyone who is here has a right to stay with full citizenship rights.

More than a century ago Karl Marx pointed out that capitalism maintains an "industrial reserve army" of the unemployed to hold down wages. In the imperialist epoch this reservoir of cheap labor has been transferred in part to the countryside of the "Third World" which supplies millions of workers to the advanced capitalist economies, only to be expelled during the inevitable depressions: Turkish and Yugoslav workers in West Germany, Africans in France and an estimated six million Mexicans in the United States. Under capitalism the backward regions of Latin America, Africa and Asia will never be transformed into modern industrial countries. The possibility of eradicating hunger from the face of the earth can be realized only through the collectivization of the means of production and an international planned economy. Under socialism, in a classless society, national borders will disappear and no one will call you "illegal alien." ■



WV Photo

Stalinists/nationalists attack SL contingent protesting INS roundup in Chicago's Mexican Pilsen district, May Day 1982.

racist anti-Communist nature of these terror raids was clear: some 50 Polish immigrants picked up in the sweep were granted special refugee status by the State Department because of "martial law" conditions in Poland. No such luck for Salvadorans or Haitians, of course.

The vast majority of the estimated 500,000 undocumented workers in the Chicago area are Mexicans. In February, many of them became particularly vulnerable as more than 100,000 predominantly Mexican immigrants, who held "Silva letters" giving them temporary immunity from deportation, had their status canceled by the INS. They were those affected by a federal court ruling in the case of Mexican immigrant Refugio Silva which held that the government had illegally awarded thousands of immigrant visas to anti-Communist Cuban refugees at the expense of other Western Hemisphere applicants. Now the "Silva letter" people are in a dangerous situation, since they have already put their names

among the earliest pushers of Simpson-Mazzoli, are now complaining that the "penalties" against employers for hiring "illegals" have been watered down. Meanwhile the Reagan administration has taken up the issue as part of its campaign to "secure our borders," supposedly against a "Communist threat" from the south.

To generate support for Simpson-Mazzoli, they're screaming about how the foreign workers are allegedly stealing American jobs, spinning horror tales about "illegals" swelling the welfare rolls, packing the schools. This is a pack of lies: undocumented workers living under the threat of deportation are not about to voluntarily undergo welfare investigation. As for schools, foreign workers pay taxes like everybody else—withheld from their paychecks. The undocumented workers come here in the first place because the American capitalists want low-wage labor for backbreaking stoop-labor jobs in the fields of California and the "Sunbelt,"

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Doug Fraser: Company Cop

DETROIT—United Auto Workers (UAW) president Doug Fraser is retiring and to crown his "achievements" he has declared that the attempt by General Motors/Toyota to smash seniority and reopen the Fremont, California GM plant without a union contract is not a strikable issue! Four years earlier, Chrysler's announcement of the closing of the historic Dodge Main plant signaled an assault by the Big Three on several decades of industrial unionism in auto. Since 1979, with the active collaboration of Solidarity House, auto workers have lost \$5 billion in wages and benefits, the industrywide contract has been smashed, and close to half a million auto workers have been permanently unemployed. From Dodge Main to Fremont, Fraser has hacked away at the achievements of the UAW to the point where the future of this once proud union is at stake.

Indeed 1979 will go down in UAW history as an infamous year. That was the year Doug Fraser purchased a seat on the Chrysler board of directors at the price of hundreds of thousands of auto workers' jobs. As Chrysler workers repeatedly said during the wildcats against the company and the UAW traitors last fall, the UAW was being led by a "double agent." The Fraser gang represented the company board of directors in the union. Having retired as UAW chief, Fraser plans to stay on as a Chrysler boss for at least another year.

The UAW is one of the main unions in this country which has been led by social democrats. One can compare Fraser's joining the Chrysler board with the German Social Democrats' voting for war credits on August 4, 1914. At that point the Social Democrats became not just sellouts but direct agents of the Kaiser who sent their workers to kill their brother workers in the imperialist slaughter of World War I. In the same way, Fraser (and his leadership clique) has been a loyal member of the Chrysler

Fraser breaks wildcat at Chrysler's Lynch Road plant in Detroit, 1973.



of union independence. In a polemic against such reformist misleaders in the 1930s, Leon Trotsky wrote:

"The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."
—"Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay"

Now Reuther's disciple Fraser has carried the tradition to its treacherous conclusion: a labor/capitalist "partnership" to dismantle fundamental gains in order to prop up the U.S. profit system.

With Fraser on the board and the UAW in a straitjacket, Dodge Main and other historic centers of union militancy going back to the 1930s sit-down strikes were liquidated *without a fight*. A membership imbued with decades of union consciousness was thrown to the winds: most pathetic and symbolic of Fraser's defeatism was the whimper of

and denounced the SL's "utopian" class-struggle tactics. Well, the balance sheet is in on the surrender strategy of Fraser & Co.: the total Chrysler/Ford/GM profit for the first quarter of 1983 was \$1 billion—stolen out of the pockets of thousands of UAW members. Today every single Chrysler plant is on overtime, with the one-third of the workforce left working under substandard contract to give Chrysler its largest quarterly profit in history!

Fraser: Once a Cop, Always a Cop

Fraser trained long and hard for his union-busting. After starting in the old DeSoto plant in the 1930s he became president of Local 277 in 1943 as part of the Reuther wing of the UAW bureaucracy. He was appointed to the International staff in 1947, as Reuther's purge of the Communist Party in the service of the Cold War entered high gear. After 25 years as assistant to Reuther and an International Executive Board member, and finally as head of the UAW's Chrysler Department, Fraser became infamous as an open strikebreaker. As head of the UAW's Chrysler Department, he helped the company beat back the black rebellion of 1968-69, embodied by the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. In 1973 he gained national infamy by leading 1,000 bureaucrats wielding baseball bats in breaking a wildcat strike at Chrysler's Mack Avenue Stamping plant. When militants at the Jefferson Avenue plant successfully occupied an electrical cage and drove out a racist foreman, Fraser came out against the company's promise of amnesty: "If you surrender to this type of blackmail, there is no end to it."

Fraser had become a cop for the companies. And in 1974 he literally became one of Detroit's five top cops, accepting newly elected mayor Coleman Young's appointment to the new police commission, which was responsible for overall control of the police department. Fraser served on the "reform" police commission, helping Young and the Democratic Party machine in Detroit reestablish the authority of Detroit police in the face of the widespread hatred of the cops among the city's black population. And the killer cops of the infamous STRESS unit, who gunned down black workers and youth at will in the early 1970s, were set loose.

Fraser has been the fireman for the Detroit hosses, denouncing husing for integration because it "is a losing issue politically" (*Detroit Free Press*, 30 November 1975) and whipping up a

protectionist frenzy, blaming Japanese workers for the massive job losses he has rammed through. This has resulted in racist terror and even murder of Asian-American workers (see "Jail the Killers of Vincent Chin!" on page 12).

Now, with most auto workers in Detroit unable to get any job, Fraser has lined up *three* in addition to his union pension. As an outside director for Chrysler, he'll be entitled to \$15,000 a year with another \$12,000 in special fees (for committee and board meetings), plus two cars a year. (And this year's Chrysler proxy report doesn't contain Fraser's pious 1982 declaration that he plans on donating his Judas money to scholarship funds.) There's another \$12,000 or so for a part-time Labor Studies professorship at Wayne State University, and he'll also be the Helen DeRoy Visiting Professor in Honors at the University of Michigan, teaching "the organization of work in the coming decades" (or, "how to wreck a union in four years or less").

The UAW isn't even saying how much dues money auto workers will have to give this traitor for a pension. Like his predecessor Leonard Woodcock (who became Jimmy Carter's ambassador to China), the real payoff might come from Washington from his friends in the Democratic Party. At one of the series of "thank you Doug" benefits organized for this traitor, former vice president Mondale "hinted he has plans to put Fraser in high office if elected president in 1984" (*Detroit Free Press*, 4 February).

As Doug Fraser leaves the UAW even the strike fund is being raked to pay the salaries of the International and local henchmen who aided him in ripping up the gains of more than 40 years of industrial unionism. The social-democratic, bureaucratic machine that has translated UAW into "U Ain't Working" smoothly passes the top job to Owen Bieber, while auto workers from Fremont to Detroit face crucial class battles to defend their livelihoods. The housebroken "oppositionists" who constantly appeal to the "Reuther tradition" will never be able to fight the stranglehold of Solidarity House. In February, 57 out of 58 local presidents and shop chairmen at Chrysler appealed to Fraser to stay on the board! It will take a class-struggle leadership to win the coming battles. Sitdowns, not soup-lines! Break from the Democrats, build a workers party to fight for a workers government! Oust the traitorous UAW hureaucraey! ■



Fraser sworn in as Detroit police commissioner, 1974.

hoard of directors, directly destroying the most basic gains of the union and slaughtering the livelihoods and lives of the workers.

The UAW's complete prostration before the auto companies is a direct result of the social-democratic Walter Reuther tradition which Fraser continued. Reuther and his henchmen throttled the class-struggle tactics which enabled the UAW to organize the open shop bastions of the Midwest. He used red-baiting and anti-communist purges, support for the imperialists' Second World War and slavish subordination to the Democratic Party to weld the UAW to the government. Reuther's goal, drawn from the program of the reformist Second International, was to integrate the labor movement into the capitalist state, wiping out *any* remnant

the Dodge Main local bureaucrats at the 1980 convention, displaying a banner which read, "With a Book Full of Memories and a Heavy Heart, Dodge Local 3 Says Good-bye to the UAW."

Over and over again Fraser rammed giveback contracts down the throats of the UAW ranks, working in tandem with company threats to close plants, and all in the name of "saving jobs." The only job "saved" was Fraser's seat on the Chrysler Board: two-thirds of Chrysler workers and almost half a million UAW members in all have been written off by the Big Three and Solidarity House.

In 1979 the Spartacist League (SL) and our supporters in auto agitated for sit-down strikes against layoffs, while the fake-left trailed after Fraser, calling for "nationalization" (a disguised form of subsidy to the hosses) to "save jobs,"

El Salvador...

(continued from page 1)

outside San Salvador, a major operation involving 3,000 troops and air force bombing, but without success.

Recently the Salvadoran government, prodded by the Reagan administration, has launched a rural "pacification" campaign, combining large-scale military operations with stepped-up economic aid. The plan calls for setting up fortified "strategic hamlets" in the lowlands provinces, a strategy reminiscent of the CORDS (Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development) program in Vietnam. Coupled with Operation Phoenix, a campaign of assassination of suspected Viet Cong sympathizers, CORDS was an attempt to isolate the guerrillas from the general populace. So far it has been no more successful in El Salvador. When FMLN troops attacked San Miguel, the country's third-largest city, 2,000 government security force troops were ordered to stay in their barracks rather than risk defeat by the rebels, who sabotaged machinery intended for that province's pacification program.

The country is literally falling apart. The gross national product is down by 25 percent since 1979. According to the U.S. embassy, damages to the infrastructure have passed a billion dollars, while another billion have been sent out by local capitalists hedging against a guerrilla victory. In the middle of the war, after a second military rebellion against General Garcia (this time by the air force), the ineffectual defense minister was removed and the entire top command reshuffled. The phony constituent assembly is split down the middle between right-center and ultra-rightist forces. Ex-junta president José Napoleón Duarte, a Christian Democrat, is calling for "dialogue" with the rebels while fascist assembly president

Roberto D'Aubuisson is calling for a war to the death—200,000 dead to be specific. And now the death squads are running full blast again, massacring peasants on land reform settlements, assassinating the chairman of the Salvadoran Human Rights Commission, Marianela García.

The FDR/FMLN leaders claim that if "our people achieve victory by the

solution" of 1954 before the heroic workers and peasants finally drove out the imperialists and their puppets.

The conditions for leftist military victory in El Salvador are ripe. But this victory clearly poses the need for an urban insurrection of the working class. The proletariat must place itself at the head of the insurgent masses if the smashing of the old regime is to open the



Salvadoran guerrillas turn over captured soldiers to Red Cross. Government troops are surrendering en masse.

armed road" it will be with "greater social costs" than if there is a "negotiated solution" with the Yankee imperialists and their Salvadoran flunkies (*Venceremos*, March 1983). On the contrary, the guerrilla coalition and its popular-front allies are now *holding back* the armed struggle, giving the government forces a chance to recuperate, in order to have something left to negotiate. In the long run this will cost far *more* lives than an all-out drive to *win the war*, as the example of Vietnam shows, where it took 20 years and one million dead after the "negotiated

road to socialist revolution. And this requires above all the building of revolutionary Trotskyist parties in El Salvador and throughout Central America, sections of a reformed Fourth International.

Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism

As Reagan seeks to escalate military intervention in Central America, a section of the U.S. ruling class fears that a "new Vietnam" is in the making. Appealing to the "lesson of the painful past," liberal Democratic Congressman

Dodd warned that the U.S. is "once again on the losing side." Even Reagan must pay homage to the "Vietnam syndrome." In his April 27 speech to Congress, he declared: "Let me say to those who invoke the memory of Vietnam: There is no thought of sending American combat troops to Central America." But in 1964, we recall, Lyndon Johnson ran as the "peace candidate" against Barry Goldwater, declaring: "We seek no wider war." Under Democrats Kennedy and Johnson, and Republican Nixon, Vietnam became the longest, dirtiest, and only losing war in the history of American imperialism. From Central America to southern Africa, the oppressed masses were inspired by the Vietnamese victory, while in the U.S. fear of "another Vietnam" was a major barrier to new imperialist military adventures.

The American bourgeoisie has tried to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome," beginning with Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign. Reagan came to power vowing to "draw the line against Communism" in Central America, hoping for a victory on the cheap, in the U.S. "front yard," to fuel the war drive against the USSR. But these imperialist dreams are shattering on the determined resistance of the Central American masses. Sandinista Nicaragua is grinding up the counter-revolutionary mercenary invaders. Salvadoran leftists are making mincemeat of the 9-to-5 U.S.-backed army. The Democratic "doves" believe that imperialist interests would be better served by negotiations with the pro-capitalist leaders of the Salvadoran popular front and a *modus vivendi* with the Sandinistas. But they, like Ungo, agree with Reagan on his strategic goals. ("We will oppose the establishment of Marxist states in Central America," said Dodd.) While boasting of slashing Reagan's request for military aid to his Salvadoran butchers, the Democratic-controlled House of Representatives votes almost unanimously to *triple* arms aid over the authorized 1982 levels.

A negotiated sellout of the Salvadoran civil war would be a defeat for the workers and peasants of Central America, and a signal for a massive new bloodbath. If the U.S. succeeds in crushing leftist insurgency in the isthmus, its next target will be Cuba and the imperialists will be enormously emboldened in their program of reconquering the Soviet Union for capitalism. It is in the urgent interests of the world working class for the USSR to send guns to the Salvadoran leftists and MIGs to Nicaragua. Reagan's claim that this is already happening is, unfortunately, a lie. The shameful appeasement of U.S. imperialism by the Kremlin over Central America constitutes a grave danger to the Soviet Union itself. And the treacherous reformists who call for "no more Vietnams" are spitting on the blood of the Vietnamese people in order to make a bloc with the Democrats. We say: Vietnam was a victory! Smash U.S. imperialism in Central America! For workers revolution! ■

Spartacist Campaign Draws Well in Black Oakland

OAKLAND—For *WV* readers familiar with the reformist, ultra-electoralist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the accompanying map should be interesting and satisfying. It shows (in black) the areas in which Spartacist candidate Martha Phillips outpolled SWP's Jan Gangel in the recent Oakland City Council elections. While the SWP received 1,906 votes to our 1,548, over 600 of their votes (more than they beat us by citywide) came from the predominantly white, petty-bourgeois Rockridge area of north Oakland and precincts bordering Berkeley with large

student and aging New Leftist populations. In contrast, in overwhelmingly black and working-class East Oakland, we outpolled the SWP nearly three to one. Similarly in the 90 percent black areas of West Oakland we solidly beat the SWP.

The latest *Militant's* only mention of their campaign is a report of Jan Gangel's "ground-breaking" sale at the power plant where she works, which netted five (!) *Militants* sold. In the last two weeks of the Spartacist campaign alone, 499 *Workers Vanguard*s were sold and nearly 15,000 of

our election brochures were distributed by comrades and supporters of our campaign. Many of those who worked on the campaign also joined the newly formed Labor/Black League for Social Defense. Our Bolshevik campaign centered on militant labor and black struggle clearly struck a chord in the black and working-class districts of Oakland. And just as clearly the tepid pale-pink reformism of the SWP found its response among petty-bourgeois liberals. For us, the Phillips campaign was a solid success.



Black areas in map of Oakland show where SL's Martha Phillips (above) outpolled SWP.

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NEW YORK

Workers Fight Austerity

Italy: Battle Over the Scala Mobile

Since the following article was written, a one-day general strike of Italian industry was called for April 21 to back union demands in key contract negotiations. However, fearing workers' militancy the labor bureaucrats on April 20 rushed through an agreement covering metal workers in state-owned companies, thereby undermining the national strike. Meanwhile, the continuing parliamentary instability of Italian politics was signalled by the fall last month of the Fanfani government, the 43rd cabinet since the end of World War II. General elections have been called for June 19, highlighted by the Eurocommunists' call for a "democratic alternative," that is, to refurbish the bourgeois regime with an anti-working-class, anti-Soviet popular front.

Report from the Lega Trotskista d'Italia

MILANO—During the month of January, the Italian working class mobilized to defeat the Confindustria [employers' federation] over the *scala mobile* ["sliding scale," a cost-of-living adjustment] and the government's economic decrees. Facing a deadly inflation rate that has raised the prices of staple items almost 500 percent over the last 12 years, the government led by the old Christian Democratic warhorse and aspiring bonapartist Amintore Fanfani is trying to push the whole burden of capitalist irrationality onto the workers' backs.

The workers' rage exploded in militant demonstrations from one end of the country to the other, from the industrial triangle of Milano-Torino-Genova in the north to Bologna, Rome, Naples and Palermo. In Genova in particular on January 13 a general strike occurred when the FLM [Federation of Metal Workers, strongest union in the country] and other unions called sectoral strikes against the explicit wishes of the CGIL/CISL/UIL trade-union federations *not* to have a general strike. Over 100,000 workers took to the streets in one of the largest demonstrations seen in the postwar period.

On January 18 there was a virtual nationwide general strike, involving 8 million workers. In Milano, more than 300,000 workers from all over the region of Lombardy filed by for several hours in the largest union demonstration ever held in this city. Elsewhere in the country estimates indicate no less than half a million workers came out in dozens of demonstrations. But in order to avoid incidents between the Socialist (pro-government) and Communist (op-



Italian metal workers fight for sliding scale of wages.

position) labor leaders it was decreed that this would be a "silent" demonstration with no rally at the end. Union militants ironically mocked this bureaucratic measure by wearing a gag over their mouths.

The union leaders, truly the "labor lieutenants of the bourgeoisie," rushed to sell out the workers by signing a rotten agreement on January 22. Henceforth the *scala mobile* would only cover 80 percent of inflation. This betrayal is all the more excruciating in that the forces mobilized by the workers were able to defeat the bosses and the government, thereby opening the road to a proletarian counteroffensive. In several large plants the sellout was rejected, while in other plants a high percentage of votes went against the agreement.

In Italy the forging of a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership is a burning necessity. A strong, organized, combative proletariat has been on battle footing almost continuously for the last 15 years. Today the only way the capitalists can pull themselves out of the economic crisis is through wholesale dismantling of the gains of the workers movement won in the "autunno caldo" (hot autumn) of 1969. To counter the economic chaos and destruction produced by capitalism in its death agony requires a planned economy based on collectivized property. Yet the workers movement remains imprisoned in a syndicalist version of militant reformism, held back from a struggle for state power by bureaucratic misleaders in "communist" and "socialist" colors.

Constantly demanding simply

"more" means declaring a permanent strike, with the petty bourgeoisie growing increasingly desperate. Prolonging this impossible situation will only generate a sizable fascist movement, with the capitalists asserting an imperative need to break out of the bourgeois-democratic restraints in order to stabilize profits. This situation today poses urgently the need to forge an authentic Bolshevik party to fight for a revolutionary workers government based on workers councils (soviets). All the attempts to bring the Eurocommunist traitors of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) into the bourgeois government, whether advertised as a "historic compromise," the "democratic alternative" or a "left government" will only serve to prop up the faltering capitalist system. What Leon Trotsky wrote in the 1930s is still true today: "'People's Fronts' on the one hand—fascism on the other; these are the last political resources of imperialism in the struggle against the proletarian revolution."

Social Democracy and Stalinism: A History of Betrayal

In 1948, in 1960, in 1969—every time the Italian proletariat has showed its willingness to carry the fight against the capitalists through to the end, the Stalinist and social-democratic leaders have proven in action to be in the service of the Agnellis, the Pirellis, the Costas [leading Italian industrialists], of the Christian Democrats, the Vatican and NATO. These betrayals have a history. Even at the time of the "glorious" anti-fascist Resistance and in the immediate postwar period, the reformists demonstrated by their deeds their usefulness to Italian imperialism. In 1945-47 the PCI and PSI aided the bourgeoisie in disarming the partisans, evicting the peasants from occupied lands in the South and persuading the workers to work harder with promises of pie in the sky, *doing what no bourgeois party could have accomplished.*

Proletarian revolution was aborted, thus providing the basis for the subsequent so-called "economic miracle," a phase of expanding production and a broadening internal market (the infamous "consumer society" which according to some two-bit "Marxists" should have "bourgeoisified" the workers) based on intensified exploitation of a workforce made powerless by their leaders' betrayals. This cleared the way for the anti-Communist witchhunts of the sharpest period of the Cold War—

the "internment" plants at FIAT and dozens of other factories where militants were kept isolated from other workers as the prelude to getting fired; the splitting of the labor movement and the founding of "free" trade unions, etc., etc.

In the latter part of the '60s the working class recovered and turned the tables. In 1968-69, it seriously undermined the bureaucratic apparatuses' grip on the working class, forming elected, recallable factory councils in place of the corrupt and ossified *commissioni interne*. At the same time the workers' struggle rallied sectors of more backward workers to its side and won over petty-bourgeois students who in previous years were dominated by the liberal and fascist right wing.

In 1969 the prerevolutionary situation did not produce a revolutionary movement because the reformist leaders succeeded in derailing the immense potential for struggle in an exhausting and sterile "fight for reforms" in housing, education, health as well as progressive measures in the South. The results are plain to see: the government is imposing a charge (the so-called "ticket") on drugs and medical services, the educational system continues to lack schools and teachers (and those who do teach are badly underpaid), the housing crisis is chronic. And as far as the South is concerned, after two earthquakes and a cholera epidemic, the masses in the South remain under the heel of the mafia (Sicily), *camorra* (Naples) and *'ndrangheta* (Calabria), gangs who rule unhindered thanks to their connections with the local and government powers-that-be.

But the 1968-69 struggle was also derailed by the illusion assiduously fostered by the PCI that everything depended on the Christian Democrats' refusal to allow the "party of the working class" into the government. While the PCI upped its votes in every election from 1968 to 1976, attaining a significant 34 percent of the total vote, the main bourgeois party, the Christian Democracy (DC), lost votes, dropping to a low of 38 percent. This led to the formation of various "left governments" in the principal Italian cities and widened the so-called "red belt" to a full six regions.

Nevertheless the DC did *not* allow the PCI into the central administration, instead merely accepting its parliamentary support from outside, with the so-called "national unity" governments under Andreotti. From 1976 to 1979 the PCI was used to put across the anti-working-class policy of "sacrifices" and "austerity," and to launch an anti-communist/"anti-terrorist" witchhunt that led thousands of left-wing militants into "democratic" jails (and torture). With the sharpening of the new Cold War stirred up by Washington, the bourgeoisie realized that the PCI had done its job and once again dismissed its "Communist" servants.

From the Defeat at FIAT to the Bosses' General Offensive

When the politics of "national unity" were at their height, [PCI head] Enrico Berlinguer proclaimed that "austerity is an opportunity to renew and transform Italy." With this criminal attack on workers' gains, the PCI showed it was ready to pay whatever price was necessary to encourage the DC to allow it a share of the ministerial portfolios and government posts. In 1979, at the

continued on page 10



January 18:
During one-day general strike militants wear gags to protest bureaucrats' order for silence.

For Workers' Soviets to Smash the Gangster Military!

Bolivian Labor Shakes Popular Front

After seven months of popular-front government, a social explosion is building in Bolivia. The powerful Central Obrera Boliviana (COB—Bolivian Workers Federation), dominated by the highly combative and historically class-conscious tin miners, has entered into open conflict with the coalition government of President Hernán Siles Zuazo. On April 19 the mine workers union, backed by the COB, seized the offices of the Bolivian Mining Corporation (COMIBOL—the government-owned tin trust) in the nation's capital, La Paz. Already in March the government of Siles' Unidad Democrática Popular (UDP) was facing a strike wave. Now the peasant unions offered to supply the mining centers with food, bank and government workers unions offered to help administer COMIBOL (whose white collar workers opposed the takeover), engineering and medical students formed brigades to come to the aid of the miners.

The dramatic union action soon had a snowball effect as workers of the state oil company struck demanding the resignation of top management. Meanwhile, peasant unions blocked the roads leading to three cities, cutting off the capital, in support of the miners and demanding higher prices for their produce; and peasants of the Cochabamba region seized government-owned lands. Siles responded by denouncing the miners as "anarchists" and "ultras," warning that their occupation is "illegal" and threatening to restore order by force. On May Day, 60,000 workers—a huge number in this predominantly peasant country—marched in La Paz in support of the COB's demand for "majority workers co-management" of the mines nationalized after the 1952 "National Revolution." A week later police attacked hundreds of government employees demonstrating in the capital for the right to unionize. As we go to press, *WV* has learned that the miners of the key Huanuni camp have declared themselves against *any* participation by the capitalist state in the management of COMIBOL.

Bolivia is in the throes of a pre-revolutionary situation rapidly approaching the flash point. While the uniformed gangsters are plotting as

always in "golpilandia" (coup-land), and the UDP is doing its best to keep the working people "united" with their exploiters, what is remarkable about this crisis is the depth of the miners' distrust of the "democratic" regime from the moment it was installed in office. Siles' not-very-popular popular front today finds itself confronted with a rebellion by the very workers movement

based on soviet power can put an end to the cycle of coups and popular fronts.

And for once Bolivia is not alone. Throughout the Southern Cone of South America the dictators are tottering. The Argentine generals, discredited by the failure of their Falklands/Malvinas adventure and haunted by the "disappeared" victims of their dirty war at home, are on the brink of collapse.

for revolutionary upheaval throughout Latin America been so favorable, and the dangers of betrayal by the nationalist and reformist popular frontists so great. What is lacking is the key element of all, a reborn Fourth International forged on the program of *permanent revolution* that could lead the working masses to victory throughout the continent and take the battle to the imperial-

Armed tin miners oppose military coup, August 1971.



it was supposed to be taming. The extremely unstable situation could lead to a revolutionary situation of dual power with the overthrow of the bourgeois Siles government by workers' mobilizations; to an even more right-wing "democratic" regime; or to another coup by the constantly conspiring officer caste. The urgent need is for a genuinely Trotskyist vanguard party to raise an action program of transitional demands mobilizing the Bolivian proletariat for the conquest of power before the popular front leads to a new bloodbath for the toilers. Only a workers and peasants government

Chile's Pinochet has brought on the worst depression in the country's history, lining up not only the workers but most of the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie against him as even pro-government unions go into action. The Uruguayan military has been repudiated in its own rigged elections; in Brazil a powerful industrial proletariat is gaining political consciousness. And to the north, Central America is aflame with revolt against decades of bloody rule by a rapacious oligarchy and its death squads, while Mexico with its many-millioned working class is near bankruptcy. Never have the possibilities

ist heartland itself. This is the task which the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), and it alone, proclaims on its banner.

From the "Cocagolpe" to the Popular Front

Siles, the 190th president in the 158 years since Bolivia won its independence from Spain, took office last October after 18 years of virtually uninterrupted military rule. Siles' UDP coalition won a plurality in the 1980 elections, as it had twice before, in 1977 and 1978, only to be prevented from taking office by the

Bolivia: Even the Government Is Underground

We print below an eyewitness report on the situation in Bolivia early this year.

* * * * *

"Since the fall of the military regime last year, the governing coalition... has been trying to deal with the mess in which the Bolivian economy was left. This has proven to be intractable while at the same time the working class has not given it a blank check. In fact [the

working class] is not controlled by any of the parties in the popular front. The COB... has in fact adopted an attitude of critical expectancy, i.e., maybe if you deliver on some of the things we want we won't make trouble for you.

"So the popular front... faces an economic situation that they cannot solve short of mass pauperization, unemployment and brutal attacks on the standard of living of the working

class and middle class.... The regime gives the impression of a rather unstable walk on needles.

"The popular front is extremely unstable. The army, while faction-ridden and somewhat burnt out from the experience, is still intact. The major sources of financial capital, the U.S., Argentina, Brazil and Peru, are hardly in a situation to go in shooting. The working class is in a state of cockiness that is left over from the strikes that brought down the government. The population is far from being a spectator, they are actually involved, as seen in the people huddled on the street corners to read the latest newspaper reports on the MIR-MNRI governmental crisis, the painted walls with slogans which only appeared after September. The campuses, I am told, are highly politicized. And inflation is

shot to hell. It's hard not to see the possibility of a highly explosive confrontation looming on the horizon.

"Furthermore, this is the first country I have been in where the government is underground, literally. After I had been there two days and had not been able to... even find the government newspapers, I... tried to get the number in the phone book or from the operators for the government parties. There is none. The government parties do not have a phone number. Then I found a newspaper stand which hidden away had a number of newspapers of the government coalition. I saw them by chance and bought the lot. None of them had an address at which they could be contacted. At which point I began to wonder if they knew something I didn't."

extraordinarily brutal *cocagolpe* (cocaine coup) of General Luis García Meza organized with the aid of the Argentine junta. The García Meza dictatorship pushed Bolivia's economy over the brink of collapse. Even by Latin American standards, the regime set a record for corruption, with the top army brass openly trafficking in cocaine and semi-precious stones, and an elaborate system of kickbacks from phony "development" projects. Bolivia was already the second most impoverished country in Latin America, Haiti being the first. Underpopulated, with only 5.5 million inhabitants—most of whom are Quechua (Inca-descended) or Aymara Indians—in an area the size of Texas and California combined, the country has a 65 percent illiteracy rate, an average life expectancy of 37 for miners, a per capita income of \$510 a year as of 1978, and an inflation rate of almost 300 percent.

García Meza's corruption was matched only by his brutality. At least 500 were killed and 2,500 wounded in the July 1980 coup, as tanks demolished United Mine Workers Federation (FSTMB) headquarters in La Paz and paramilitary gangs in plainclothes, set up with the aid of the Argentine secret police and European Nazis, assassinated leftists and workers' leaders *en masse*. Death squads with names like the "Black Eagles" and "Fiancés of Death" announced themselves in newspaper ads. Carter's Secretary of State Vance wagged his finger in disapproval, and the regime proved a bit much even for Reagan, who had trouble portraying the gangster García Meza, his drug kingpin interior minister Arce Gómez and their thugs as "moderate authoritarians."

The final straw for the junta came last September when the workers of the traditionally militant Huanuni mining camp forced the COB leaders to call a nationwide general strike for a return of the elected government and against the dictatorship's International Monetary Fund-inspired austerity plan. Meanwhile, the regime missed a \$10 million interest payment on the \$4 billion foreign debt. The country was bankrupt; military rule was utterly discredited and decayed, increasingly unable to control the masses. Rather than see the unrest turn into an insurrection, the international bankers and key sections of the weak Bolivian bourgeoisie were ready to play the card of popular frontism. So in desperation they brought in the civilians.

Siles Zuazo took office on October 10 as "compañero presidente." Defining itself grandiloquently as a "popular, national, anti-imperialist and revolutionary front," the UDP is a classical popular front: a bloc of workers parties and bourgeois parties constructed to make the workers' leaders share responsibility in the oppression of the masses and to tie the proletariat directly to its

Klaus Barbie and the Bolivian Navy

Who Protected Nazi Butcher in Bolivia?

Klaus Barbie, the Nazi Butcher of Lyons directly responsible for the murder of more than 4,000 French Jews, and later mentor of Bolivian death squads, was once entrusted with a special mission by the Bolivian military: launching a navy. Bolivia lost its seacoast in the War of the Pacific (1879-1884) and has been landlocked since. The Bolivian bourgeoisie, tailed by the entire left, cherishes the revanchist dream of reconquering "the sea." Periodic orgies of national chauvinism over the "maritime question" are useful to both *gorila* generals and "democratizing" bourgeois politicians to distract the masses from the bankruptcy of the alternating military dictatorships and popular fronts.

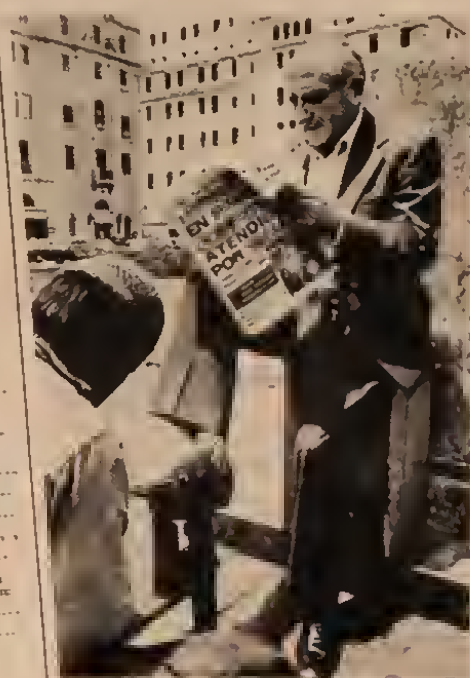
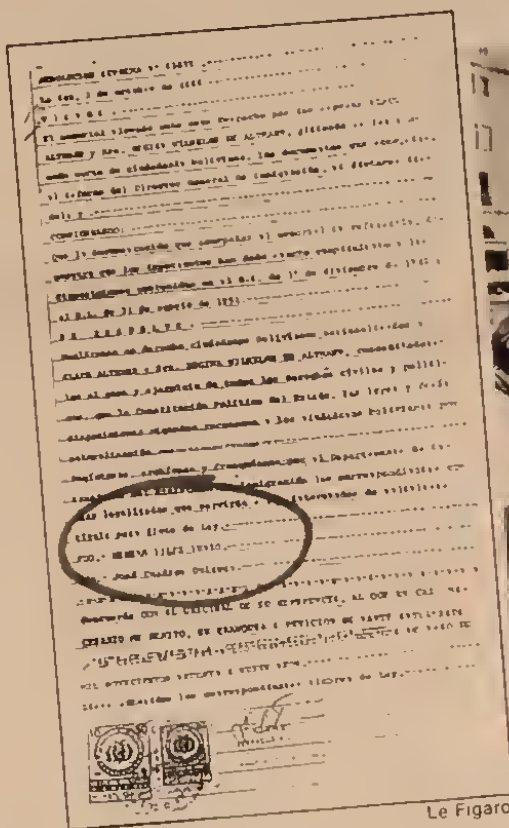
In 1966 the regime of right-wing populist general Barrientos began a campaign for "a ship for Bolivia." Where would the warship go? On Lake Titicaca, of course (elevation: 12,507 feet above sea level). And who would be better suited to handle the arrangements than Klaus Barbie, alias Altmann, the CIA-protected SS mass murderer who had arrived in La Paz in 1951, received citizenship from Siles Zuazo in 1957, and had already begun to make himself useful to Bolivia's rulers. With plenty of international connections, adept at every type of scam (the arrest which led to his recent expulsion to France was ostensibly for defrauding the Bolivian Mining Corporation), but specializing in the provision of arms for Bolivia's rightist killers both in and out of uniform, Barbie was the perfect choice.

So the "Maritime Action" civic association was launched and an intensive government-sponsored cam-

paign for "donations" from all sectors of the populace begun with maximum fanfare. Patriotic marches, meetings and all the effluvia of chauvinism ensued. In 1968 Barbie created the "Bolivian Transmaritime" company—in a country with no maritime coast. Fifty-one percent of the capital was invested by the Bolivian "naval forces," the rest by private citizens, and Barbie was director-general (*Le Figaro* magazine, April 23). \$350,000 was collected from the citizenry for "a ship for Bolivia" and turned over to Barbie & Co. Needless to say, every penny vanished into the pockets of Barbie

and his jackbooted friends and Bolivian *gorila* patrons.

The issue of a Bolivian corridor to the sea did not die with Barrientos. A decade later, the Banzer dictatorship tried to whip up patriotic fervor and proposed an exchange of territory between Chile and Bolivia. The response of Guillermo Lora's POR was the most disgusting nationalism, accusing Banzer of violating "the territorial integrity of Bolivia." "The great national task of the access to the sea passes into the hands of the proletariat," proclaimed *Masas* (30 September 1977) in stentorian tones. It added, incredibly, "The sea is transformed into a revolutionary and anti-bourgeois slogan," and, in short, "Struggling for the sea is to struggle against *gorilaism* and imperialism"! The "ship for Bolivia" swindle has become legendary in Bolivia—without, unfortunately, inoculating the Bolivian left against chauvinist agitation for "the sea."



Sygm
Klaus Barbie (above) got his citizenship papers from popular front head Siles.

exploiters. (Even the name evokes Allende's Unidad Popular which held office in Chile during 1970-1973.) The UDP consists primarily of Siles' bourgeois Revolutionary Nationalist Movement-Left (MNRI), the pro-Moscow Communist Party (PCB) and the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR), a rightward-moving middle-class group derived from the Christian Democracy (not to be confused with the leftist Chilean MIR). Siles' cabinet also includes an air force general and members of the Christian Democratic Party.

Siles, whose regime's "moderation" is lauded by the bourgeois press, took

pains to emphasize his loyalty to the bourgeois state. While various officers were retired or transferred in a highly publicized "cleanup" of the armed forces, Siles' commander of the armed forces is none other than General Alfredo Villarroel, defense minister under the butcher Vildoso, while the chief of the army was Vildoso's chief of staff. Vice president Jaime Paz Zamora of the MIR emphasized that the government "does not accept socialism and our program will not contain anything that is foreign to our country" (*Washington Post*, 11 October 1982). "We can control the Communists," he vowed while Siles explained to *Newsweek* that PCB participation in the government was necessary to rein in the unions. UDP spokesmen stressed their commitment to "respect the structures" of the armed forces, and Siles swore "vengeance against the military." For its part, the PCB pledged that it would not seek to "redde" the government and that it would support negotiations with the IMF (*La Opinión* [Los Angeles], 4 and 5 October 1982).

Siles promptly announced an economic package for a "war economy" of austerity and sacrifice for the workers and peasants: cutting subsidies of sugar, rice, cooking oil and other staples; raising the price of bread and gasoline 150 percent while freezing wages after a paltry 30 percent raise (in the face of 300 percent inflation!); drastic currency devaluation plus budget cuts and layoffs. This "paquetazo" (package coup) provoked widespread indignation among trade unionists. The transport union shut down the main cities with a two-day strike, while the miners union of southern Bolivia decreed an indefinite general strike on November 9

against Siles' measures and for a "minimum living wage" with full cost-of-living adjustment. The COB bureaucracy, with the Stalinists in the lead, desperately sought to put the lid on, agreeing to impose a 100-day "social truce" from November to February with Siles.

Popular Front Means Workers Blood

In 1970 the Spartacist tendency wrote of the election of Allende's UP in Chile:

"It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."

—*Chilean Popular Front*,
Spartacist No. 19 (November-December 1970)

This warning, which was tragically borne out by the bloody Santiago coup of 11 September 1973, is no less true of the Bolivian UDP today. Trotskyists warn the masses against *any* confidence in this bourgeois government; we seek to break the powerful workers organizations from the popular front and mobilize them in struggle for soviets, democratic organs of revolutionary struggle not only against the military mafia but against the capitalist system of misery and oppression; for soviets which can be the basis of a workers and peasants government, a dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the poor peasantry, which for the first time will bring real democracy to the masses of the exploited in Bolivia.

In fact this is an *especially dirty*
continued on page 8



International Viewpoint

Bolivian trade-union federation COB demonstrates its power. Workers must break with popular frontism.

Bolivia...

(continued from page 7)

popular front. Hernán Siles Zuazo is one of the two historic leaders of the bourgeois Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR), which came to power in the popular uprising of April 1952. Siles—at that time the leader of the right wing of the MNR—was vice president from 1952 to 1956 and president from 1956 to 1960. Siles rebuilt, with Yankee advisers and dollars, the bourgeois army all but destroyed in 1952—an army which has since carried out some of the bloodiest massacres in all Latin America. Then-president Siles was also the principal author of the infamous Huanuni massacre of January 1960, when at least 12 miners were machine-gunned to death and 32 wounded when they protested the MNR's attempt to take over their union.

Last October Siles had offered the COB "co-management" of state enterprises—in other words, labor representatives on managing boards—also inviting the union federation to join the cabinet. Perennial COB leader Juan Lechin Oquendo replied that he would only agree to enter the government if it had a majority of labor ministers and an "anti-imperialist" program. Siles promptly refused, whereupon Lechin adopted a posture of critical toleration toward the government. Later, in supporting the miners' seizure of the COMIBOL offices, Lechin reiterated that he was only seeking "majority workers co-management." But through their militant takeover the miners have already imposed full workers management, under a union administrative council that has expanded production and swept out the inflated parasitic supervisory apparatus. Class-conscious militants must demand: no giving back of the COMIBOL to the capitalist state!

The Communist Party, meanwhile, is carrying out an open strikebreaking policy. Anxious to demonstrate its reliability and "fitness to govern" to the bourgeoisie and imperialism by a hard-line stand against labor "excesses," the PCB has launched a battle against the Miners Federation of the COB over the occupations. They have only succeeded in further discrediting themselves, both with the bourgeoisie and the workers. On April 25 the Communist ministers of mines and labor, the ones directly affected by the takeover, were called on the carpet by the rightist-dominated Congress. And the same day PCB delegates in an expanded national council meeting of the miners union were unanimously condemned for supporting the government proposal of "parity co-management" of COMIBOL. Militant Bolivian workers re-

member that the PCB, while today lauding the fall of the military dictatorship as "a result of the people's struggle," actually *opposed* calling the unlimited general strike that toppled the junta.

Every class-conscious Bolivian worker must understand that the crux of the current conflict is state power. If the confrontation drags on, the military guard dogs of capitalism will certainly intervene again, either against the UDP or at Siles' invitation. But there are tremendous opportunities for revolutionary action in this situation. Although Siles & Co. have tried to get the unions to agree to draconian "sacrifices" with the classic popular-front argument that this is the "government of the workers," from Day 1 of the UDP regime the workers have been skeptical. According to one observer, "the miners, who remain the social vanguard of the country, freely remark that 'they don't recognize themselves in the present government'" ("Front populaire sur l'Altiplano," *Le Monde*, 2 February). Particularly in Bolivia, where generations of miners have identified Trotskyism as the most radical expression of working-class struggle, there is a crucial opening today to lead the proletariat in action guided by a transitional program for socialist revolution.

While Lechin speaks of 51 percent workers co-management of COMIBOL in cooperation with the capitalist state, Trotskyists must fight for a tooth-and-nail defense of the *workers management* which has been established by the miners' bold action, and for seizure of the privately owned mines. The combative miners cannot win by just holding out, turning Siglo XX, Catavi and Huanuni into revolutionary citadels. The struggle must spread throughout the country. In the urban industrial sectors it is necessary to impose *workers control* of production, through the formation of *factory committees*. These conquests must be defended by the formation of *armed workers militias* everywhere. And the masses must be mobilized in revolutionary struggle through the formation of *soviets*, not a replay of the "People's Assembly" of 1971, set up by Lechin et al. as a sounding board for nationalist general Juan José Torres, but genuine organs of workers power.

For an Authentic Trotskyist Party in Bolivia

These class-struggle policies, the policies of Lenin's Bolsheviks in 1917, are decidedly *not* the program being carried out by those who falsely proclaim themselves Trotskyists in Bolivia today. The Partido Obrero Revolucionario-Combate (POR-C, Bolivian section of Ernest Mandel's United

Secretariat [USee]) are busily tailing Lechin and Siles. These former arch-guerrillaists, creatures of the USee leaders who in years long past dreamed of their "own" guerrilla war in Bolivia, now call for "a majority for the workers in the co-management boards," denouncing as "ultraleftist notions" the demand for workers control (*International Viewpoint*, 18 April)! The Mandelites call for "mass pressure on the UDP government," stating that the "strategic objective" of the POR-C "does not involve all-out opposition to the government, but a strategy of pressuring it and exposing the capitulationist leadership" (*International Viewpoint*, 1 November 1982). Calling the UDP government "part of the democratic process that we are determined to deepen" through "a broader policy of alliances" with "authentically democratic sectors" (*International Viewpoint*, 21 March), these anti-Trotskyists would align themselves against the miners occupying COMIBOL who are clashing head-on with the bourgeois starvation government of mass murderer Siles!

While the betrayals of the Mandelites are noteworthy mainly for exposing the USee's ever-dwindling Trotskyist pretensions, it is Guillermo Lora's POR (also referred to as POR-Masas, after the name of its paper) that has the mantle of ostensible Trotskyism in Bolivia. Like the POUM in the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39, Lora's POR is the key obstacle to the construction of a Leninist vanguard. This classically centrist outfit, which has periodically been influential among the militant tin miners, wrecked a promising opportunity for proletarian revolution in 1952 by subordinating the working class to the bourgeois MNR, through the instrument of *movimentista* union bureaucrat Lechin. Again in 1970-71, through the same instrument and using the same device of "critical support" to bourgeois nationalism, Lora capitulated before left-bonapartist General Torres—and Bolivian workers were defenseless, militarily and politically, against the brutal repression by right-bonapartist General Banzer (see "Centrist Debacle in Bolivia," *WV* No. 3, December 1971). Lora's lame "excuse" is a self-indictment: "There was a common view, which we Marxists shared, that the ruling military group would hand out arms...."

After Banzer's victorious coup, the POR-Masas formed a so-called Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Front (FRA) to support General Torres. The FRA included the "Revolutionary Armed Forces" of bourgeois nationalist officers, the Stalinists and assorted petty-bourgeois forces, plus Lechin of course, on a program of "fighting unity of all the revolutionary democratic and progressive forces... for a popular and national government" (*Masas* No. 403, November 1971). Lora hardly bothers to disguise his call for a popular front with the "progressive" officers, writing in his book on the 1971 events: "At a certain point the nationalists with epaulets become allies of the working class and not its sworn enemies" (*Bolivia: de la Asamblea Popular al golpe fascista*). In contrast, Leon Trotsky wrote on the Spanish POUM's illusions of purging the army: "The officers' corps, in which is concentrated the centuries-old tradition of enslaving the people, must be dissolved, broken, crushed in its entirety, root and branch" ("The Lesson of Spain," 30 July 1936).

Today, Lora's POR affects a left-sounding posture toward the UDP regime, no doubt reflecting Lechin's hostility toward his old MNR rival Siles. *Masas* proclaims from its masthead: "Proletarian revolution and dictatorship (workers and peasants government)." Two days before Siles took office, it listed under the front-page headline "Tasks of the Moment": "Preserve class and union independence from the UDP government," and "The

working class cannot join the bourgeois government of Siles." However, Lora's alternative is his own (so far only fictitious) popular front, the FRA: "Against bourgeois unity counterpose the unity of the oppressed nation under the leadership of the proletariat (FRA)" (*Masas*, 8 October 1982). The reference to proletarian leadership serves about the same function as Lechin's talk of an anti-imperialist program. With Siles barely tolerating the wretchedly reformist PCB, there are no current popular-front openings for centrists like the Trotskyoid POR. But should there be a slight shift to the left, should some "progressive" bourgeois politician or "patriotic" officer be willing to sign an empty statement recognizing the "hegemony of the proletariat," Lora is willing to play ball.

Even Lora's references to preserving "class independence" and refusing to join the bourgeois government have more to do with Menshevism than with Bolshevism. Behind the posture of passive "independence" lies the policy of liberal tailism. In the Russian Revolution of 1905 the Mensheviks adopted a resolution on tactics warning against "losing its identity in bourgeois democracy," and rather than "seizing or sharing power in a provisional government" (as Lenin's Bolsheviks advocated) the Social Democrats should "remain a party of the extreme revolutionary opposition" (*The Mensheviks in the Russian Revolution*). What this meant concretely was to let the bourgeois liberals, the Cadets, govern in peace. In the same spirit, the neo-Menshevik POR said *not one word* about struggle against the UDP regime or for a workers and peasants government in the crucial moments when Siles & Co. were being installed with the consent of the butchers in uniform.

Lora's POR bombastically proclaims "proletarian revolution and dictatorship" and even discusses "What Will the Insurrection Be," but what is striking about *Masas*' propaganda is the complete absence of *any* transitional demands leading to the struggle for power. The *only* concrete demands raised by the POR as "tasks of the moment" at a time when the miners were on strike against the military regime were those raised by the Lechinista bureaucrats of the COB/FSTMB: "minimum living wage with a sliding scale," "withdrawal of the army troops from the mines," "unemployment insurance," etc. What about workers management of COMIBOL, workers control of industry, workers militias, and above all soviets? Nothing. As for Lechin's class-collaborationist scheme of "majority workers co-management," back in 1971 Lora praised "the struggle to impose co-participation" as "the real channel of mobilization towards power" (*Bolivia: de la Asamblea Popular al golpe fascista*).

Only proletarian revolution will put an end to the cycle of coups and popular fronts in Bolivia. This is also the only way the miners' current struggle to wrest control from a parasitic capitalist state bureaucracy can obtain victory. Such a revolution, if it is to survive and open the way to a socialist future for the impoverished workers and peasants of Bolivia, must be extended far beyond the borders of this landlocked Andean country. But at bottom, Lora & Co. are nationalists, not very different from their more unscrupulous counterpart to the south, Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno. Twice already the POR's support for bourgeois nationalism has helped wreck potential workers revolutions. Moreover, Lora's "international" is almost exclusively South American and the POR's maximum slogan is for a Socialist United States of Latin America. In contrast, the Trotskyists of the ISI seek to forge an authentic Leninist vanguard party to lead the working class in struggle for socialist revolution from

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Jail Killers of Vincent Chin...

(continued from page 12)

with three years probation and a \$3,800 fine for "manslaughter." Vincent Chin's brutal death wasn't manslaughter—it was cold-blooded racist murder. Chin was set up to be killed by the poisonous racist campaign of anti-Japanese protectionism. The auto bosses, the Democrats and especially their flunkies in the United Auto Workers (UAW) leadership are seagoating foreign workers for the massive layoffs. As the club owner described the scene:

"We got 16 percent unemployment in town. There's lots of hard feelings. In my opinion, these people come in, they see a man, supposedly Japanese. They look at this guy and see Japan—the reason all my buddies are out of work'."

Ebens swung the bat, and it was the traitorous UAW bureaucrats in Solidarity House who told him where to aim it! Fraser & Co.—the blood is on your hands!

Judge Kaufman's "sentence" of Ebens and Nitz is an invitation to more racist murder. Kaufman accepted a plea bargaining agreement with the Wayne County prosecutor's office and set the killers back on the street because they "weren't the kind of people you send to jail." Not under racist American "justice"! Kaufman, who is trying to parade his liberal credentials and complain of "vilification" to counter the outrage at his decision, thinks that a white Chrysler foreman is not "the kind" to be sent up to Jackson. Trade unionists in Detroit remember who Kaufman does think should go to jail—he imprisoned striking suburban Garden City teachers in 1974.

Over 500 people demonstrated in Detroit's Kennedy Square on May 9, organized by the American Citizens for Justice (ACJ) to demand that Kaufman's sentence be overturned and the racist killers Ebens and Nitz be jailed. ACJ spokesman Kim Yee told the crowd that Ebens was consumed with race-hatred for all Asians, blaming them for the ills of the American auto industry. "They just wanted to get an Asian, any Asian." The rally and march, largely Asian, drew some black workers who were outraged at the judge and prosecutor's deal to let the killers go free. The racist hysteria whipped up by protectionism and hatred of "foreigners" is part of the crisis of American

imperialism which sees its way out through a nuclear war drive against the Soviet Union. It is aimed squarely at blacks and Latins as well.

While labor/black Detroit has been gutted by plant closings and multi-million-dollar givebacks to the auto bosses, for nine years the pro-company UAW bureaucrats have pounded away with their racist poison: "Love U.S. auto bosses, hate Japanese workers," they say. They plaster the union halls with "Buy American" banners, and their Cadillacs and Continentals with bumper stickers that read "Datsun, Toyota... Pearl Harbor." The sign on the guard shack at Solidarity House reads

Protectionist poison: Sign on Solidarity House, smashing a Toyota. UAW tops incite anti-Asian violence.



"300,000 laid-off UAW members don't like your import. Please park it in Tokyo." Last year in Milwaukee UAW members slashed and stomped on a Japanese flag, and there have been obscene publicity stunts where auto dealers in Detroit take sledgehammers to Japanese cars. The UAW tops' favorite Democrat, Walter Mondale, practically called for war on Japan:

"We've been running up the white flag, when we should be running up the American flag!...if you try to sell an American car in Japan, you better have the United States Army with you when they land on the docks!"

After weeks of silence Solidarity House finally issued its first statement—UAW Director of Fair Employment Practices Joe Davis denied there was an anti-Asian backlash! The union officials did not even support the call for a civil rights investigation. The social-democratic labor traitors have whipped up the "yellow peril" racism and warmongering to defend their "own" bourgeoisie and escape the wrath of the hundreds of thousands of auto workers thrown on the scrapheap of capitalist depression. And when it goes from

sledgehammers smashing cars to baseball bats murdering an Asian brother, the Fraser gang says its hands are clean!

The demonstration was dominated by the popular front which lords it over the desperate masses of Detroit: speakers from the city council, Mayor Coleman Young's office, the big business cabal of New Detroit, Inc., Robert Blackwell, mayor of Highland Park, and the NAACP. The Democratic Party politicians gave lip service to the ACJ's demand "Justice for Vincent Chin" in order to make sure the outrage at this racist murder stays in "the channels of the law" (Detroit city council resolution). But it is the same capitalist



politicians, largely inhabiting the Mondale wing of the Democratic Party, who have been the most rabid anti-Japanese protectionists. Justice will not come through reliance on the capitalist courts, or faith in the "investigation" the FBI has launched into violation of Chin's "civil rights." The courts and cops are instruments of capitalist class rule, and exist to defend the bosses who whip up this protectionist poison.

Black and white auto workers in Detroit must demand that the racist killers Ebens and Nitz be jailed! Send them to Jackson prison and throw away the key! Ebens, however, a foreman for 17 years at Dodge Truck in Warren, says he will file suit to get his job back (Chrysler fired him for committing a felony). If this racist killer tries to crawl back into Truck or any other plant, or tries to pick up his pension, auto workers must organize to run him out! Chrysler workers remember back in 1973 when two militants, protected by 200 other workers, shut down the electrical power at Jefferson Assembly and ran out a notoriously racist foreman. And in 1979 class-struggle militants at Ford's River Rouge plant drove

out two foremen who dared to put on KKK hoods in the Dearborn Assembly Plant. There are a lot of workers in UAW Local 140 who have a score to settle with Ebens, who is known at Truck for firing black workers.

Vincent Chin's father immigrated to America when Vincent was six years old, and worked his whole life in laundries and restaurants. Chin worked two jobs and was the sole support of his widowed mother. He was murdered four days before his wedding. His fiancée cried out in anguish, "They ruined my life, my future. How can you commit murder and get away with nothing? It's not fair. All I can do is

scream to myself, for him and for me." Vengeance for Vincent Chin will not come at the hands of the capitalist politicians and their labor lackeys, who whipped up the racist protectionism that murdered him.

Unfortunately, many workers, white and black, buy the chauvinist poison that imports rather than the profit system cause unemployment. The working class must be broken from protectionism and won to a program of intransigent proletarian class struggle and internationalism! It's the KKK and Nazis who feed off the "Buy American" poison, as when they tried to march in Washington, D.C. last November 27 against so-called amnesty provisions for undocumented foreign workers. It was in defense of all the oppressed that the Spartacist League mobilized 5,000 workers and blacks to stop the KKK in the streets of Washington, D.C. It's that power in Detroit which must be organized to break the stranglehold of the labor bureaucrats and to fight on behalf of all the oppressed!

Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! Jail the racist killers Ebens and Nitz! ■

the Southern Cone to the heart of North America.

The struggle to forge genuinely bolshevist parties in Latin America is an arduous task, requiring a clear political break from nationalism and from the social values of a nationalist left that imitates its own rulers, embracing the values that have led to every mass-murdering bourgeois *caudillo*. Nahuel Moreno, the Argentine pseudo-Trotskyist political bandit, is an archetypical Latin American "revolutionary." This would-be *líder máximo* hails as a kindred spirit every blood-drenched Third World strongman from General Perón to the Iranian feudal Khomeini. Lora, who wants to be the labor wing of a Latin American Kuomintang, curiously mistranslates Trotsky as saying the proletariat must be the *caudillo* (German: *Führer*) of the oppressed nation. Both Lora and Moreno naturally defend the "national sovereignty" of their respective mini-fatherlands against neighboring Chile. (Bolivar failed to unify the ex-Spanish colonies on a bourgeois basis, as the imperialists, especially the British, set regional leaders against each other. But the international proletariat will succeed where Bolivar failed.) For the imitative macho pigs of the petty-bourgeois nationalist "left," what goes

for a programmatic split is to say, "Cabrón, I screw your wife. And you steal party funds." And of course they blame everything on *yanqui* CIA agents, to amnesty their own rulers.

Lenin's Bolsheviks were able to build an internationalist communist party in tsarist Russia. Behind them lay a century of profound alienation of the entire intelligentsia from the social values and morals of the tsarist autocracy and the landed aristocracy. (Lenin admired Chernyshevsky and took the title of his novel, *What Is To Be Done?*) Under the conditions of Russia's tumultuous political history, out of all this—the intelligentsia's pervasive asceticism and rejection of Great Russian chauvinism (Russia was itself an imperialist oppressor power), together with the political struggle of the Marxists against the populists over the proletariat vs. the peasantry as the driving revolutionary force, and the struggle within the proletariat over reform vs. revolution—the Bolsheviks were able to crystallize as a mass party, linking a small fraction of this purified intelligentsia with a great, raw, yearning, militant working class half a generation away from serfdom.

These subjective preconditions do not obtain in a mass way anywhere in Latin America today, although in the Andean alliplano, because of the unionization

and politicalization of a very isolated, concentrated proletariat, the harsh realities of the class struggle work against the pseudo-socialist swindlers. Throughout the continent the "leftist" intelligentsia partakes deeply of the values that extend throughout the upper reaches of Latin American societies. Sharp revolutionary struggles internationally will be necessary to build mass communist parties in Latin America. We must now create revolutionary internationalist Trotskyist propaganda

groups fighting for the program of permanent revolution against the popular front, nationalism and the cynicism and corruption which accompany them. Under the acute social and economic conditions of Latin America, an authentic proletarian socialist movement could mature very rapidly. From the roof of the Andes to the tropical jungles of Central America, the road to liberation is the struggle to reforge Leon Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. ■

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Italy...

(continued from page 5)

time when scores of combative workers from FIAT were fired as a prelude to the 1980 attack, the PCI's Giorgio Amendola expressed the depths of PCI hostility toward the working class:

"...demands have grown out of control...wages (of employed sectors) have risen faster than the cost of living.... Salary levels have been maintained at a high level...yet no substantial modifications have been made in the *scala mobile*.... The increase in the number of strikes...makes self-regulation of the right to strike necessary.... Remember it was the frequency of strikes that opened the road to fascism." [our emphasis]

—*Rinascita*, 9 November 1979

But the betrayal didn't yield the expected results, especially given heightened international tensions, and the PCI tops' attempts to offer themselves up for NATO's anti-Soviet warmongering campaign were all for naught. The PCI's response was to further reinforce its anti-Soviet alignment, trying to gain the sympathies of the White House—highly improbable given Reagan's visceral anti-communism—and embraced counterrevolutionary *Solidarność*, this bosses' "union" in the service of the CIA and the Western bankers. This did not sit well with Italian workers, who are rightly suspicious of any enterprise endorsed by the anti-Communist pope (see "We Won't Strike for the Madonna of Czestochowa!" *WV* No. 296, 8 January 1982).

Simultaneously the PCI tried to sell itself nationally as a party that sides with the workers. At the time of the 1980 FIAT strike, it even placed itself at the head of the workers' protest. Speaking at FIAT's Mirafiore plant, Eurocommunist leader Berlinguer threatened: "If negotiations fail, we'll have to resort to harsher methods of struggle, including occupation." But both before and after Berlinguer's demagogic speech, the PCI tops did everything possible to prevent the occupation of FIAT. Agnelli and the entire Italian bourgeoisie won a victory by throwing 23,000 workers out of the plants. The trade unions and working-class parties called it a "success" at the time, but now two and a half years later when the terms of the accord say they should be rehired, the workers still have not been called back to work!

The bosses pursued their offensive throughout 1981 and 1982 at the Alfa Romeo state-owned auto company, at Italsider [the state-owned steel concern] and then with Confindustria's unilateral rescinding of the 1975 agreement on the *scala mobile*. It must be clearly stated that the bosses' aim was not and is not primarily an immediate reduction of workers' wages with a corresponding increase in profits. The capitalists' goal is much more far-reaching. They want to reestablish the conditions of the 1950s in the plants, with workers toiling in silence and whoever dares protest is "Out!" Then they can raise their profits outlandishly without running any risks.

Beginning last spring, therefore, the need was posed for a real general strike of the whole working class to defeat the bosses' offensive and toss out the

government of the day, opening the road to the overthrow of the rotting capitalist system. With unemployment running above the two million mark, or ten percent of the entire workforce, it's clear that the fight against attacks on the *scala mobile* had to put the full strength of the working class—employed and unemployed—onto the battlefield, with a program capable of mobilizing all the layers of the proletariat and the exploited to launch a counteroffensive. The January 22 sellout agreement was a cold shower for the workers' mobilizations, but did not change the main conclusion: the situation in Italy is serious and demands drastic solutions.

The struggle didn't come to an end on January 22. In the first place, Confindustria did not succeed in beating the working class, in spite of all the efforts of its labor lieutenants. Also, contract struggles involving several million workers are still going on (metal workers, construction workers, school workers and teachers, state and local government employees, etc.), strikes and demonstrations continue unabated. Contrary to the defeatism of the New Left and the fake-Trotskyists, who are already holding funeral services for the workers movement, the final whistle in this round of the class struggle has not yet been blown. A national contract strike by one of the affected sectors could spark a movement to restore the full *scala mobile*. With the bourgeoisie attempting to throw the working class back 30 years, this would require a mobilization of the labor movement in a general strike for a sliding scale of wages and hours, to bring down the Fanfani government and its Cold War austerity plans.

A general strike of this kind would begin with a mainly defensive character, but action on such a scale would inevitably pose the question: who's in charge here, the bosses or the workers? A working-class victory—a real possibility, given the divisions in the Italian bourgeoisie—would open up a wide-ranging political and social crisis, directly posing the question of state power. Obviously, the reformists would try their best to send the strikers back home, probably calling for new parliamentary elections. But the workers, encouraged by their success, could take the offensive, creating workers councils all over the country, imposing workers control in the plants and extending dual power throughout society, winning to their side in the heat of struggle the unemployed, students, peasants, housewives and all the exploited and oppressed. This is the only perspective the Italian proletariat has for fighting and winning, and it is in the course of this struggle that it will forge the cadre and the party capable of leading the socialist revolution.

No to the Popuar Fron!

For decades the PCI has betrayed the working class' interests, both historic and immediate, seeking to conciliate the bourgeoisie. In the '70s *Botteghe Oscure* [PCI headquarters in Rome] came to the conclusion that short of a stamp of approval from the Vatican and the

White House, the PCI's entry into the government was unthinkable. Its formula for betrayal was then dubbed "the historic compromise." Now, with the 16th PCI National Congress, the Eurocommunists have come out with a new version of a class-collaborationist capitalist government, the so-called "democratic alternative." This is the latest attempt to revive the authority of corroded bourgeois-democratic institutions with the "clean hands" of the popular front.

In a lead article by Berlinguer, *l'Unità* (26 January) commented on the sellout accord of the 22nd, clearly revealing what is at stake for the PCI:

"As far as we are concerned, the fights we will be engaged in and the initiatives we will take...will be aimed at solving the question...of changing the political framework, of finally giving the country the orientation, the revitalizing and innovative leadership necessary for it not to go to pieces."

This proposal addressed by the PCI to the Socialists (PSI) and the "enlightened" sectors of the bourgeoisie is directly counterposed to the workers' needs, and can only help the capitalists buy some time until they have the strength to deal the workers a severe defeat.

The Italian bourgeoisie has considered many times since 1945 the possibility of putting in the saddle a "strong" government capable of imposing the will of finance capital upon the workers. In the 1960s and '70s there were several reported coup plots with the active participation of generals, ministers and presidents of the republic. The so-called "strategy of tension" by fascist terrorists connected to the secret services led to a number of killings. The last and bloodiest was the August 1980 massacre at the Bologna railway station when 84 people were killed by a fascist bomb. And certainly a lot still remains in the dark regarding the aims of the Masonic Lodge P2 headed by Licio Gelli, among whose almost 1,000 members are many of the most prominent Italian politicians, high military officers in active service and personalities of the industrial and financial world. The PSI of Bettino Craxi (dubbed by many PCI members "Benito" in an obvious reference to Mussolini) has indicated its availability to undertake steps in the direction of bonapartism, on the condition of being its main beneficiary.

However there is a big problem for a would-be Italian de Gaulle: the organized proletariat, which has not been crushed since World War II and which over the last 15 years has waged many militant struggles. From June-July of 1960—when hundreds of thousands of workers and left-wing militants fought against the police of the short-lived DC/neo-fascist coalition led by Tambroni, leaving a dozen comrades on the ground—to the powerful show of working-class strength in January 1983, it's been made clear to the bosses that they won't have an easy time imposing a bonaparte. So in the meantime they rely on the reformists and their popular-front projects to do their dirty work for them.

A current example of a popular-front government of reformist workers parties (allied with token bourgeois personalities as guarantors of capitalist stability) is that of Mitterrand's France. Mitterrand's Union of the Left offers the workers austerity, repression, anti-Soviet war hysteria—and includes the French Communist Party that the "Cossuttiani" [Kremlin-loyal elements in the PCI] take for a model. The Eurocommunists' new collaborationist proposal has already helped them cut the ground from under their left critics. At the recent PCI Congress, the "Cossuttiani" were effectively isolated, the inevitable result of their inability to offer any real alternative program and perspectives.

Build a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

To the left of the Eurocommunist PCI, aside from its reformist hangers-on

in the PDUP/*Il Manifesto* there is also the Democrazia Proletaria, which has made itself the standard-bearer for a "government of the left parties"—the PCI's "democratic alternative" with a little rouge makeup to entice combative workers. As for the pseudo-Trotskyist groups, whose highest aspiration is to be recognized by the reformists as useful advisers, they have nothing valid to offer to class-conscious militants—who have no use for people who go around repeating from dawn to dusk "PCI-PSI Unity!" "PCI-PSI Government!" "Unity Against the DC!" etc.

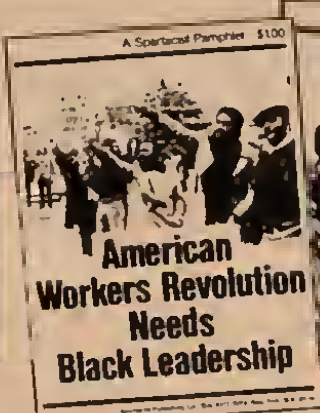
From the Lega Comunista Rivoluzionaria (LCR), Italian section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat which fraudulently claims to be the "Fourth International"; to the reformist Lega Socialista Rivoluzionaria (LSR), which has now abandoned its mentor, the Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno; to the smaller Lega Operaia Rivoluzionaria (LOR, formerly GBL), linked to the scab "international" of Alan Thornett, that is seeking fusion with the LCR, the various formulas these people concoct at each turn only wind up calling on the reformists to do something. They have nothing in common with the revolutionary program and struggle of Trotsky's Fourth International.

The LCR, which offers itself up as a doormat for the "trade-union left wing" and as a tail for the Democrazia Proletaria, is now banking everything on the "left alternative," calling for a "government of workers parties" (*Bandiera Rossa*, 27 February). These pseudo-Trotskyists refuse to call for a real workers government. Yet the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat will not emerge from some electoral combination or any bourgeois parliament. The workers government slogan can be concretized in moments like the Hot Autumn of 1969, when embryonic forms of dual power appeared in the factories. At that time it would have been possible for revolutionaries to call for a PCI/PSI/PSIUP/trade-union government based on the factory councils and responsible to them, to carry out the expropriation of the bourgeoisie.

This call would have shown clearly how the workers government slogan means breaking with parliamentarism and governing on the basis of organs of soviet power. In a situation of sharpened class conflict, such a slogan can be a fundamental tactical instrument by which Trotskyists aim to split the bourgeois workers parties along class lines—the proletarian ranks that want socialist revolution on the one side, the pro-capitalist tops on the other. But raising the slogan of a "PCI-PSI government" or a vague "left-wing alternative" under conditions of the normal functioning of a bourgeois parliamentary regime simply means capitulating to illusions in the Stalinists and social democrats. And at a time when the reformists themselves are projecting a "left-wing" government, this slogan by the LCR and its buddies, if it were to be realized, would simply be a waiting room for the popular front.

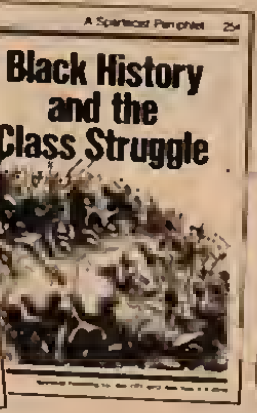
Counterposing itself to these opportunistic maneuvers and conciliationist, reformist lines, the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTdI), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, seeks to construct an authentic Bolshevik vanguard, a Leninist-Trotskyist communist party, to lead the workers' struggles forward to the taking of power, "arming the proletariat to win, to expropriate and disarm the bourgeoisie." The task for Trotskyists is to win over the most advanced workers through intransigent political struggle against the PCI's class-collaborationist politics, including refusing electoral support to the reformists engaged in this betrayal.

Enough of popular-front collaboration! For a Trotskyist party to fight for a workers government! ■



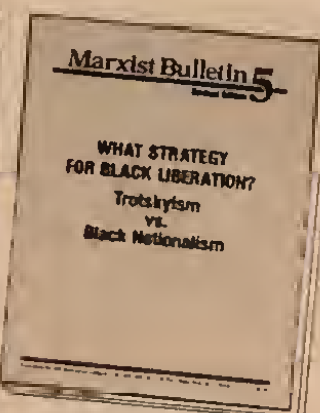
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Norfolk...

(continued from page 12)

pass federal desegregation orders. Signs reading "Don't Turn Back the Hands of Time" showed that Southern blacks know it is not too far from the death of busing to the back of the bus. That is why one out of every ten black people in Norfolk took to the streets.

The largest and most impressive contingent, a 200-strong group from the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) carried a union banner, and signs reading "ILA All the Way Against Segregated Schools." This shows the potential in the Tidewater area for massive labor struggle in defense of black rights. Hundreds of high school students joined the march defying the threat of one school to prevent students who took off school that day from going to their prom. At City Hall workers on their lunch breaks swelled the crowd to its largest size, more than doubling the expectations of the march organizers, the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Citizens headed by Bishop L.E. Willis, a black minister, and other representatives of the local black middle class.

While thousands of Norfolk blacks were demanding integrated education, the march organizers had brought in superstar demagogue Jesse Jackson who had a very different idea of what it was all about. Jackson announced that he was coming to Norfolk for a "Southern Crusade" to get black voters for the Democrats, and he made his voter registration campaign a condition of his appearance at the march. He carried a banner reading, "Someone Paid for Your Right—Register/Vote Democrat." It was the only sign or banner at this large march which said nothing about busing. At a breakfast meeting before the march, Jackson outrageously declared: "I am not in town marching for desegregation. I am marching for the voter registration boost" (*Virginian-Pilot*, 14 May)!!

Defend Busing— Break with the Democrats

Jackson speaks about busing in the same language as the anti-busing forces across the country: "Voluntary plans are best," he said in Norfolk. Everyone knows "voluntary" is a codeword for getting rid of "forced" busing for racial integration. Such statements were music to the ears of the Norfolk bourgeois establishment. Earlier, Mayor Vincent Thomas, a ringleader of the racist opposition to busing, had lauded the School Board and complained that "Our black leaders have invited [Jackson] here to condemn and protest an attempt by that school board to preserve over the long run the racial integrity [!] of our school system" (*Virginian-Pilot*, 13 May). But at a midnight private meeting with the mayor, Jackson praised this dyed-in-the-wool racist for "his statesmanship" and actually called the mayor "courageous"! No wonder

the *Pilot* editorial the next day called Jackson's comments "a vast improvement over the finger pointing... that has marked the busing debate in recent weeks..."

At a speech at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. on May 10, Jackson mapped out his grand electoral strategy with fulsome praise for "this dynamic democracy [which] has made room for us." His electoral appeal to cool out "explosions" and black struggle was quite explicit: "...we can change the nation's course through elections without going through a revolution." But without a revolution, the fundamental conditions for blacks in America can only get worse. How can electing Democrats alleviate grinding poverty and black oppression? For the Rev. Jesse Jackson, no problem: "The poor are suffering," he intones, "but I believe that suffering breeds character."

"The spirit of Chicago has come to Norfolk," proclaimed Jackson, but what is that spirit and why should black people struggling for equality want any part of it? Chicago now has a black mayor, but it is the most viciously segregated city in America, as the recent election campaign showed. Chicago, which is run by the Democrats Jackson is hustling for, has a more successful record in resisting desegregation than any Southern city over the past 20 years. And for the mass of Chicago blacks, the election of Machine Democrat Harold Washington will only mean Reaganite austerity administered by a black



WV Photo

Jesse Jackson addresses Norfolk rally: "I am not in town marching for desegregation."

flunkey. There will be no program of integrated schools or integrated housing in Segregation City, nor did Washington promise any.

In part the sharply divergent motives of Jackson and the marchers on the streets of Norfolk represent the difference in the busing issue North and South. In fact, it was in Chicago that the civil rights movement came North and died on the streets at the hands of racist reaction. Jackson along with the rest of the black misleaders gave up on the struggle for black equality long ago. He is interested in traditional ethnic politics, a place at the Democrats' porkless porkbarrel.

But in the South the issue of busing goes back to the struggle against Jim Crow. The liberal-led civil rights movement under Martin Luther King found that after the Supreme Court's *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision in 1954 the federal government was prepared to ditch some of the most flagrant examples of formal segregation in the South. Southern blacks fought for integration on the streets. And after much racist resistance, some successful busing programs were established which significantly integrated some Southern school districts such as Charlotte-Mecklenburg in North Carolina. In the North, blacks for the most part had formal equality under the law, but remained segregated in the ghettos.

There could be no real improvement in the situation of black people in the North without attacking the founda-

NORFOLK, May 13—At the demonstration today, Spartacist comrades sold 656 pieces of literature, including 450 copies of *Workers Vanguard* and 147 pamphlets on "Black History and the Class Struggle," showing that black workers are open to this perspective. People came up to WV salesmen with quarters in their hands, sometimes buying several copies for their friends. Workers here know that WV told the truth about the November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C., which included a busload of trade unionists, the "Nat Turner Brigade," from the Tidewater area. It is these militants, and not black Democratic Party hustlers like the Reverend Jackson, that show the way to smashing KKK terror and



WV Photo

breaking the chains of racial oppression and exploitation once and for all through workers revolution.

tions of the capitalist order. Instead, they made room for some black politicians, the better to keep the lid on the exploding ghettos. And the black misleaders were quick to make a deal for separate-but-never-equal as part of Democratic ethnic pressure politics. Thus the grand strategy today is to divert black anger and political struggle against the increasing misery of blacks—the mass unemployment, the cutbacks in what little social welfare there is, the declining literacy and rising infant mortality—with one answer: blame Reagan, vote Democratic in '84. And to make sure that the Democrats have something to sell to blacks, Jackson is touting himself as a black presidential candidate. It is in the abhorrent vacuum of black leadership that a hustler like Jesse Jackson can make his bid to be a national leader. This man spells danger for black Americans.

During the Reagan years, black Democratic mayors in Atlanta, Detroit, Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. have proven to be local hatchetmen for the Reagan program of cutbacks, racism and the imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union. The answer to attacks on school busing and the threat of KKK terror is not more Andy Youngs and Marion Barrys, and certainly not Jesse Jackson trying to pressure the Democrats into some platform concessions, but mobilizing the powerful integrated labor movement on the streets and in the plants to fight for black freedom and workers rights.

For Revolutionary Integrationism

For Jackson, 10,000 Norfolk blacks on the streets demanding integration is not at all what he wants. He wants them at the voting booth pulling the lever for Mondale. So Jackson told the marchers: "The reason you are demonstrating is that you have committed the deadly sin of doing less than your best politically." For Jackson, strength is to be behind closed doors "negotiating," that is, accommodating the racist status quo. They were demonstrating, he said, because "you're on the outside." Jackson explained that none of this marching was necessary because "when you're on the inside, you negotiate" (*Virginian-Pilot*, 14 May). But he is negotiating away the struggle for black equality.

After a string of defeats, blacks are looking for answers, for a way to fight and win. It is criminal that the Norfolk march committee and Jesse Jackson exploit that will to struggle, turning it into passive marches and votes for the Democrats which can only accomplish the opposite of black aspirations. Instead, concrete struggle is urgently needed which can begin to tap the power of labor and blacks in this proletarian heartland of the upper South. An example of such struggle was demonstrated on November 27 when 5,000 stopped the Ku Klux Klan in Washing-

ton, D.C. The Labor/Black Mobilization, initiated by the Spartacist League, received much support and endorsement from the Tidewater labor movement. Militants from Norfolk-area unions participated as the "Nat Turner Brigade." Here was an example of the fight against racist terror that worked. We stopped the Klan because blacks, a segment of labor and revolutionary socialists stood against the policies of the twin capitalist parties which encourage the growth of KKK and Nazi race-terror.

Unlike Jesse Jackson, blacks throughout the South know that separate can never be equal in racist America. In this they follow the tradition of black struggle for equality since the Civil War. But as every rotting ghetto shows, capitalist society can never integrate the black masses. Thus the path taken by the Norfolk black establishment treads the same failed ground as Martin Luther King, and it too leads into the Democratic Party and the betrayal of black aspirations. To win, the fight for integration must be linked up with the class struggle. The ILA marchers must know that to "go all the way against segregated schools" in racist America demands a fight against capitalism itself.

In Norfolk, the neo-segregationist School Board has created 35 "neighborhood schools" of which a third are 95 percent black. They make the excuse that this will help to prevent "white flight" from Norfolk. This is always the appeal of "sophisticated" opponents of busing. In the Tidewater area, what was the coastal resort town of Virginia Beach, for instance, has become the state's largest city. But to eliminate busing will only make segregation, and therefore black education, worse. What is needed is the *extension* of busing to the suburbs and Virginia Beach. But this demands a powerful fight by the working class.

What we need is a revolutionary workers party with a strong component of black leadership. Such a party could have called a one-day general strike on Friday. From the Norfolk longshoremen to the Portsmouth naval shipyard to the shipbuilders at Newport News, class-struggle action would put a screeching halt to the School Board's racist schemes and open the road to union organizing drives throughout the South.

It took a social revolution to free blacks from the shackles of slavery. But the promise of liberation was broken by a political counterrevolution after the Civil War. Now it will take a third American Revolution—a proletarian revolution—to free black people at last from the chains of a capitalist society in which they are a color caste segregated at the bottom. For revolutionary integrationism! For labor/black mobilizations to defend school busing in Norfolk! Extend busing to Virginia Beach! Finish the Civil War—For a workers government! ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

Fri.: 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone (415) 835-1535

Chicago

Tues. 5:30-9:00 p.m., Sat. 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court, 3rd Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone (312) 427-0003

New York City

Tues. 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat. 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

Sat. 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone (416) 593-4138

WORKERS VANGUARD

Jesse Jackson Steers Protest Into Democrat's Trap

Thousands March Against Jim Crow in Norfolk

NORFOLK, May 14—It was the largest march in the South since the mid-'60s, as 10,000 poured into the streets yesterday to protest the threatened elimination of school busing here. The marchers—almost entirely black and predominantly working class—are fighting the Norfolk School Board's February ruling which restores "neighborhood" elementary schools, the old Jim Crow "separate but unequal" standard, and dumps Norfolk's 11-year-old busing program. But while the demonstrators were showing mass support for integration among blacks in the Tidewater area of Virginia, the march was presided over by black capitalist hustler Jesse Jackson, who made it crystal clear his only interest was to channel black discontent into the Democratic Party.

Thousands marched from Lafayette Park to City Hall chanting: "Two-four-six-eight—We don't want to segregate!" And resegregation is the issue in Norfolk where the attack on busing is part of a nationwide assault on black people—from astronomical ghetto unemployment to the rise of KKK terror. In the South the fight for integrated schools is understood as part of a historic struggle for black equality. Norfolk is the city where they closed the high schools in 1958 in order to by-

continued on page 11



"Two, four, six, eight—We don't want to segregate," chanted 10,000 protesting school board attempt to eliminate busing. ILA contingent (left).

Protectionist Frenzy Fuels Anti-Asian Racism

Jail the Killers of Vincent Chin!

DETROIT—"It's not fair." Those were the dying words of Vincent Chin, a 27-year-old Chinese-American engineer who was brutally bludgeoned to death last June outside a Highland Park McDonald's. Chin and three friends were in a local nightclub celebrating his upcoming marriage when Chrysler foreman Ronald Ebens and his stepson Michael Nitz started a fight with Chin, saying, "Because of you, little mother-fucker, we're out of work" (*Detroit Free Press*, 9 May). Ebens and Nitz hunted Chin down after he left the bar, paying a third man \$20 to help find "those chink guys." While Nitz held Chin down, Ebens shattered his skull with four two-handed swings of a baseball bat, as two Highland Park cops looked on.

Nine months later a storm of protest has ignited in Detroit's small Asian community after Wayne County Judge Charles Kaufman set these killers free—

continued on page 9

May 9 protest in Detroit's Kennedy Square after judge let racist murderers go free.

